taketh place, where sturdines is law and churlish answeres be counted wisdome. Who can perswade where treason is aboue reasō, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawful whatsoeuer is lustful and commotioners is better then commissioners, and common wo is named common welth. Haue ye not broken his lawes, disobeied his councel, rebelled against him? And what is the common welth worth when the law which is indifferēt for all men, shall be wilfully and spightfully broken of hed strong mē, that seek against lawes to order lawes, that those may take place, not what the consent of wise mē hath appointed, but what the lust of Rebels hath determined?

What vnthriftines is in il seruants? wickednes in vnnaturall Children? sturdines in vnruly subiects? crueltie in fierce enemyes? wildenes in beastly mindes? pride in disdainful hartes that floweth now in you which haue fled from housed conspiracyes to encamped roberyes, and are better contented to suffer famine, colde & trauail to glut your lusts, then to liue in quietnesse, to saue the common

welth

¶ The hurt of Sedition, how greeuous it is to a common welth.

Set out by Sir Iohn Cheek, knight 1549. And now newly perused and imprinted.

1576.

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BIBLIOTECA · BOLOGNA

Mongſo ma
ny and notable
benefits, where
with God hath
all redy liberal-
ly and plentiful-
ly induced vs:
there is nothing
more beneficial
then that we haue by his grace kept vs
quiet from Rebellion at this time.

For we ſée liche miſeryes hang ouer
the whole ſtate of cõmen welth, through
the great miſorder of your ſedition, that
it maketh vs muche to reioyce that we
haue bẽ neither partẽers of your do-
ings: nor conſpirers of your Counſailes.

For euen as the Lacedemonians for
the auoyding of drunkennelle, did cauſe
their ſõnes to beholde their ſeruãts whẽ
they were druñk, ẏ beholding their beaſt-
lynes, they might auoide the like vice:
euen ſo hath God like a merciful Father
kayed vs from your wickednelle that

by

by beholding the filth of your faulte, we might iustly for offence abhorre you like Rebels, whome els by nature we loue like Englishmen. And so for our selues we haue great cause to thank God, by whose Religion and holy word daily taught vs, we learne not onely to feare him truly: but also to obey our king faithfully, and to serue in our owne vocation like Subiects honestly. And as for you, we haue surely iust cause to lament you as brethern: and yet iuster cause to rise against you as enemyes, and moste iust cause to ouerthrowe you as Rebels.

For what hurt could be don either to vs priuately, or to the whole common weith generally: that is now with mischief so brought in by you, ỹ euen as we see now ỹ flame of your rage: so shall we necessarily be consumed hereafter with the misery of the same. Wherfore consider your selues with some light of vnderstanding, and mark this grieuous & horrible fault which ye haue thus vilely committed how hainous it must néds appeer to you, if ye will resonably consider that which for my duties sake, and my

whole

whole Countries cause, I wil at this present declare vnto you.

Ye which be bound by Gods woord not to obey for fear like mē pleasers, but for conscience sake like Christiās, haue contrary to Gods holy wil, whose offence is euerlasting death, & contrary to ẏ godly order of quietnes set out to vs in ẏ kings maiesties lawes, that breach wherof is not vnknowen to you, taken in hand vncalled of God, vnsēt by mē, vnfit by reasō to cast away your bounden duties of obedience, & to put on you against the Magistrates, Gods office committed to the Magistrates for the reformation of your pretenced iniuries. In the which doing ye haue first faulted. gréeuously against God, next offēded vnnaturally our souereign Lord, thirdly troubled miserably the whole common welth, vndoon cruelly many an honest man, and brought in an vtter misery bothe to vs ẏ Kings subiects: & to your selues béeing false rebels, & yet ye pretend ẏ partly for Gods cause and partly for ẏ common welths sake ye doo arise when as your selues cānot deny but ye that séek in woord Gods cause: doo

breake

break indeed Gods cōmaundement, and that ye seek the common welth: haue destroyed ẏ cōmon welth, & so ye mar ẏ ye would make: & break ẏ ye would amēd, because ye neither seek any thing rightly: nor would amend any thing orderly.

He that faulteth, faulteth against Gods ordenaunce, who hath forbidden all faultes, and therfore ought again to be punished by Gods ordinaunce, who is the reformer of faultes. For he saieth leaue the punishment to me and I will reuenge them.

But the Magistrate is the ordinance of GOD, appointed by him with the Sword of punishment, to looke streightly to all euil doers. And therfore that that is doon by the Magistrate is doon by the ordinaunce of God, whome the scripture oftentimes dooth call God, because he hath the execution of Gods office.

How then doo you take in hand to reforme? Be ye Kings? By what authoritie? or by what succession? Be ye the Kings Officers? By what commission? Be ye called of God? By what tokens declare ye that? Gods word teacheth

vs, that no man should take in hand any office but he that is called of God like Aaron. What Moyses I pray you called you? What Gods ministers bad you rise?

Ye rise for Religion. What Religion taught you that? If ye were offered persecution for Religion ye ought to flée, so Christ teacheth you, and yet you intend to fight. If ye would stand in the trueth ye ought to suffer like marters, and you would slay like tirants. Thus for Religion ye kéep no Religion, and neither wil followe the Counsail of Christe, nor the constancye of Martirs. Why rise ye for Religion? Haue ye any thing contrary to Gods booke? Yea haue ye not all things agreable to Gods worde? But the new is different from the olde, and therfore ye wil haue the olde.

If ye measure the olde by trueth: yée haue the oldest, if ye measure the olde by fancy: then it is hard because mens fansies chaungeth to giue that is olde. Ye wil haue the olde stil. Wil ye haue any older then that as Christe left, and his Apostles taught, & the first church af-

ter

ter Christe did vse? Ye wil haue that the Canons do establish. Why? it is a great deale yunger then that ye haue of later time and newlier inuented. Yet that is it that ye desire. Why? the ye desire not the oldest. And do you refer the Bishops of Rome afore Christe? mens inuention afore Gods law? the newer sorte of worshyp before the older? Ye seek no religion, ye be deceiued, ye seek traditions. They that teach you blinde you, & so instruct you deceiue you. If ye seek what the olde doctors say: yet lok what Christe the oldest of all saith. For he saith before Abraham was made I am. If ye seeke the truest way: he is the very trueth, if ye seeke the redyest way: he is the very way, if ye seek euerlasting life: he is the very life. What Religion would ye haue other now then his Religion?

You would haue the Bibles in again. It is no meruaile, your blinde guides would leade you blinde stil. Why? be ye Owlets and Backes, that ye cannot lok on the light?

Christe saieth to euery one search ye the Scriptures for they beare witnesse of

Christe

Christe. You say pul in the scriptures, for we wil haue no knowledge of Christe. The Apostles of Christe wil vs to be so redy, that we may be able to giue euery man an account of our faith. Ye wil vs not once to read the Scriptures, for feare of knowing of our faith. S. Paule praieth ỹ euery man may increase in knowledge, ye desire that our knowreledge might decay againe. A true religion ye seek belike, and worthy to be fought for. For without the swerd indeed nothing can help it, neither Christe, nor trueth, nor age can maintaine it. But why should ye not like that which Gods word establisheth, the primatiue Church hath authorised, the greatest learned men of this realme hath drawen, the whole consent of the Parliament hath confirmed, the Kings Maiestie hath set forth? Is it not truely set out? Can ye deuise any truer the Christes Apostles vsed? Ye thinck it is not learnedly don. Dare ye Commons take vpon you more lerning, then the chosen Bishops and Clarkes of this Realme haue? Think ye follie in it? Ye were wont to iudge your Parlement

wiſest, and now wil ye ſudainly excel them in wiſedome? Or can ye thinck it lacketh authoritie, which the King, the Parliament, the learned, the wise, haue iuſtly approued? Learne, learn, to know this one point of religion, that God will be worſhipped as he hath preſcribed, and not as wee haue deuiſed, & that his wil is wholy in his Scriptures, which be ful of Gods ſpirit, and profitable to teach the trueth, to reproue lies, to amēd faultes, to bring one vp in righteouſnes, ỹ he that is a Gods man may be perfect and redy to all good worke. What cā be more required to ſerue God withall? And thus much for religion Rebels.

The other rable of Norfolk Rebelles, ye pretend a cōmon welth. Now amend ye it by killing of Gentlemen, by ſpoyling of Gentlemen, by impriſoning of Gentlemen? A meruelous fanned common welth. Why ſhould ye thus hate them for their riches, or for their rule? Rule they neuer toke ſo muche in hand as ye do now. They neuer reſiſted the King, neuer withſtood his counſaile, be faithful at this day, when ye be faithles,

not

not only to the king, whose subiectes ye be. but also to your Lords whose tenants ye be. Is this your true dutie, in some of homage, in moste of fealtie, in all of allegeance, to leaue your duties, go back frō your promises, fall from your faith, and and contrary to law and trueth, to make vnlawful assemblies, vngodly cōpanies, wicked and detestable camps, to disobey your betters, and to obey your tanners, to chaunge your obedience frō a King to a Ket, to submit your selues to traitors, and breake your faith to your true King and Lordes? They rule but by Lawe, if otherwise: the Lawe, the Counsaile, the King, taketh away their rule. Ye haue orderly sought no redresse, but ye haue in time founde it, In countries sōe muste rule, some muste obey, euery man may not bear like stroke, for euery man is not like wise. And they that haue séen moste, and be best able to beare it, and of iust deling beside, be moste fit to rule. It is an other matter to vnderstand a mās owne gréef, and to knowe the common welthes sore, and therfore not they that know their owne case as euery mā doth

but they that vnderstand the common welths state, ought to haue in countries, the preferment of ruling. If ye felt the paine that is ioyned with gouernance, as ye sée and like the honor: ye would not hurt others to rule them, but rather take great paine to be ruled of them. If ye had rule of the Kings Maiestie committed vnto you: it were wel done yée had ruled the Gentlemen, but now yée haue it not, and cannot beare their rule, it is to thinck the Kings Maiestie foolish and vniust, that hath giuen certain rule to them. And séeing by the Scripture, ye ought not to speake euil of a Magistrate of ỳ people, why do yée not onely speake euil of them, whome the Kings Maiestie hath put in office, but also iudge euil of the King him selfe, and thus seditiously in silde, stãd with your swords drawen against him.

If riches offend you, because ye would haue the like, then thinck that to bée no common welth, but enuie to the commõ welth. Enuie it is to appaire another mans estate, without the amendement of your owne. And to haue no Gentlemẽ,

because

because yée be none your selues, is to bring down an estate. & to mend none. Would yée haue all alike rich? That is, the ouerthrowe of labour, and vtter decay of worke in this Realme. For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the idle shall by lust without right take what him list from him, vnder pretence of equalitie with him. This is the bringing in of idlenesse, which destroyeth the common welth, & not the amendement of labour that maintaineth the common welth. If there should be such equalitie, then yée take all hope away from yours, to come to any better estate then you now leaue them. And as many means menes children cõmeth honestly vp, & is great succor to all their stock, so should none be hereafter holpẽ by you, but because you séek equalitie, wherby all cannot be rich, yée would that belike wherby euery man should be poore. And thinck beside that riches and inheritãce, be Gods prouidence, and giuen to whom of his wisdome he thincketh good. To the honest for the increase of their godlines, to the wicked for the heaping vp of their

damnatiõ, to the simple for a recõpence of other lacks, to the wise for ỹ greater setting out of Gods goodnesse. Why wil your wisdome stop Gods wisdome, and prouide by your lawes that GOD shall not inrich them, whom he hath by prouidence appoynted as him liketh? GOD hath made the poore, & hath made them to be poore that he might shew his might and set them a loft when he listeth, for such cause as to him séemeth, and pluck down the rich, to this state of pouertie, to showe his power, as he disposeth to order them. Why do not we then being poore beare it wisely, rather then by lust seek riches vniustly, and shew our selues contented with Gods ordinance, which we must other willigly obey and then we be wise, or else we must vnprofitably striue withall & then we be mad. But what meane yee by this equalitie in the common welth? If one be wiser then another, wil ye banish him because ye intend an equalitie of all things? If one be stronger thẽ another, wil ye slea him because ye séek an equalitie of all things? If one be wel fauoured er then a

nother

nother, wil-yee punilh him becauſe you lake for an equalitie of all things? If one haue better vtterannce then another, wil yee put out his tung to ſaue your equalitie? And if one be richer then another, will yée ſpoyl him to maintain an equalitie? If one be elder than another, will ye kil him for this equalities lake? How iniurious are you to God him ſelf, who inteded to beſtowe his gifts as he him ſelf liſted, & ye ſeek by wicked inſurrections to make him giue them cõmonly a like to all men, as your vain fantaſy liketh? Why would ye haue an equalitie in riches, and in other giftes of God? there is no meane sought. Other by ambition yée ſeek Lordlineſſe, much vnfit for you, or by couetoulnes ye be vnſatiable, a thing likely inough in yée, or elſe by follie yée be not content with your ſtate, a fancy to be plucked out of your. But and we béing weary of pouertie, would ſeek to enrich our ſelues: we ſhould goe a far other way to worke them this, and ſo ſhould we rightly come to our deſire. Doth not S. Peter teach vs afore GOD a right way to honour,

to

to riches, to all necessary, and profitable things for vs: He saith humble your selues, that God might exalte you, and cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth the way to all good things, at Gods hand is to be humble, and you exalte your selues. Ye seke things after such a sorte, as if the seruãt should anger his maister, when he seketh to haue a good turne on him. Ye would haue riches I thinck, at Gods hãd who giueth all riches, and yet ye take the way clene cõtrary to riches. Know ye not that he that exalteth himselfe, God will throwe him downe? How can yée get it then, by thus setting out your selues? Ye should submit ye by humilitie one to another, & ye set vp your selues by arogancie aboue the Magistrates. Se hérin how much yée offend God. Remember yee not that if yée come nigh to God, he wil come nigh vnto you? If thé yée go frõ God he wil go from you. Doth not the Psalme say, he is holy with the holy, and with the froward man he is froward. Euen as he is ordred of men he wil order them again. If ye would follows

lowe his will, and obey his commaundements, yée should eat the frutes of the earth saith the Prophet, if not: the sword shall deuour you. Yée might haue eaten the fruites of this seasonable yéere, if yée had not by disobedience rebelled against God. Now, not onely yée cannot eate that which you your selues did first sow by labour, and now destroy by sedition, but also if the Kings Maiesties sworde came not against you, as iust policie requireth: yet the iust vengeance of God would light among you, as his worde promiseth, and your cruel wickednes deserueth.

For what soeuer the causes bée that hath moued your wilde affection hérin, as they be vniust causes and increase your faultes much, the thing it self (the rising I meane) must néedes be wicked and horrible before God, and the vsurping of authoritie, and taking in hand of rule, which is the sitting in Gods seate of Iustice, and a prowd climing vp into Gods high throne, must néeds be not onely cursed newly by him: but also hath béen often punished afore of him. And

that which is don to Gods Officer: God accounteth it don to him. For they despise not the minister (as he saieth himself) but they dispise him, and that presumption of chalenging Gods seat, doth shew you to haue beene Lucifers, and sheweth vs that God will punish you like Lucifers. Wherfore rightly lok as ye duely haue deserued, other for great vengeance for your abhominable transgression, or els earnestly repent with vnfained mindes your wicked doings, and other with example of death be content to behold other: or els by faithfulnesse of obedyence declare how great a seruice it is to God to obey your magistrates faithfully, and to serue in subiection truely.

Well if ye had not thus grieuously offended God whom ye ought to worship: what can ye resonably think it to be no fault against the king, whome ye ought to reuerēce? Ye be bound by Gods word to obey your king, and is it no breake of dutie to withstand your King? If the seruant be bound to serue his master in the family: is not the subiect bound to serue the King in his Realme? The Childe is

bound

bound to the priuate father, and be we not all bound to the common welths father? If we ought to be subiect to the King for Gods cause, ought we not then I pray you to be faithfully subiect to the King? If we ought dutifully to shew all obedience to hethen Kings, shall we not willingly and truely be subiect to Christian kings? If one ought to submit himself by humilitie to an other, ought we not all by dutie to be subiect to our King? If the members of our naturall body all followe the hed, shall not the members of the politicall body all obey the King? If good maners be content to giue place, the lower to the higher, shall not Religion teach vs alway to giue place to the highest? If true Subiects will dye gladly in the kings service, should not all Subiects think it dutie to obey the King with iust service? But you haue not only disobeyed like il Subiects: but also taken stoutly rule vppon you like wicked Magistrates. Ye haue been called to obedience by counsail of priuate men, by the aduice of the kings maiesties counsel, by ỳ kings maiesties free pardon, but what counsel

taketh place, where sturdines is law and churlish answeres be counted wisdome. Will he can perswade where treason is a-bone reaſō, and might ruleth right, and it is bad for lawful whatsoeuer is lustful and commotioners is better then commissioners, and common wo is named common welth. Haue ye not broken his lawes, disobeied his councel, rebelled a-gainst him? And what is the common welth worth when the law which is indifferēt for all men, shall be wilfully and spightfully broken of hed strong mē, that seek against lawes to order lawes, that those may take place, not what the consent of wise mē hath appointed, but what the lust of Rebels hath determined?

What vnthriftines is in il seruants? wickednes in vnnaturall Children? sturdines in vnruly subiects? cruelti in fierce enemyes? wildenes in beastly minded? paine in disdainful hartes that flowteth now in you which haue fled from houled conspiracyes to encamped roberyes, and are better contented to suffer famine, colde & trauail to glut your lusts, then to liue in quietnesse, to saue the common

welth

wealth: and think more libertie in wilfulnesse: then wisdome in dutifulnesse: and so run headlong not to the mischeef of other: but to the destruction of your selues, and vndoo by folly that ye intend by mischeef, neither seeing how to remedye that ye iudge faultie, nor willing to saue your selues from misery, which sturdinesse cannot doo, but honestie of obedyence must frame.

If authoritie would serue vnder a king: the counsel haue greatest authoritie. If wisdome and grauitie might take place: they be of most experience. If knowledges of the common wealth could helpe: they must by daily conference of matters vnderstand it best. Neither the authoritie that the Kings maiestie hath giuen them, nor the grauitie which you knowe to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great trauail they haue gotten, can moue ye either to keep you in the dutie ye ought to doo: or to auoide the great disorder wherin ye be. For where disobedience is thought stoutnes, and fullennes is counted manhood, and stomaking is courage, prating is iudged wise-

dome, and the eluishest is moste meet to rule: how can other iust authoritie be obeyed or sad councel be followed, or good knowledge of matters be heard, or commaundements of counsailours be considered? And how is the King obeyed whose wisest be withstanded, the disobedientest obeyed, the high in authoritie not wayed, ẏ unskilfullest made chief Captains, to the noblest most hurt intended, the braggingest brawler to be moste safe. And euen as the viler partes of the body would contend in knowledge and gouernment with the fiue wits: so doth the lower partes of the common welth enterprise as high a matter, to striue against their dutie of obedience to the councel.

But what talke I of obedience so quietly? hath not such mad rages run in your heds, that forsaking and brusting the quietnesse of the common peace ye haue hainously and Tratorously encamped your selues in feelde, and there like a bile in a body, nay like a sink in a town, haue gathered togither all the nastie Vagabonds and idle loyterers, to beare an

mour against him with whome all godly and good Subiects will liue and dye withall?

If it be a fault when two fight togither and the Kings peace broken and punishment to be sought therfore: can it be but an outragious & detestable mischief whē so many Rebels in number, malicious in minde, mischeuous in enterprise, fight not among them selues, but against all the Kings true and obedient subiects, and seeke to proue whether Rebellion may beat down honestie, and wickedkednes may ouercome trueth or no? If it be treason to speake hainously of the Kings maiestie who is not hurt therby, and the infamy returneth to the speaker again: what kinde of outragious & horrible treason is it to assemble in camp an army against him, and so not only intēd an ouerthrowe to him and also to his common welth: but also to cast him into an infamy through all outwarde and straunge nations, and perswade them that he is hated of his people whome he cannot rule, and that they be no better then villains which wil not with good or

ders

ders be ruled? What death can be deuised cruel inough for those Rebels who with trouble séeketh death, and cannot quench the thirst of their rebellion, but with the blood of true Subiects, and haseth the Kings mercifull pardon, when they miserably haue transgressed, and in such an outrage of mischéefe, will not by stubbornnes acknowledge them selues to haue fauted, but intended to broil the common welth with the flame of their treason, and asmuche as lyeth in them, not onely to annoy them selues: but to destroy all other. He that is mis-contented with things that happen, and because he cannot beare the misery of them, renteth his beare, and teareth his skin, and mangleth his face whiche easeth not his sorow: but increaseth his misery, may he not be iustly called mad and fantasticall, and worthy whose wisdom should be supected? And what shall we say of them who béeing in the common welth féeling a sore grieuous vnto them and easy to haue béen amended, sought not the remedy, but hath increased the greef, & like frātick beast, raging against

their

their hed, dooth teare and deface asmuch as lyeth in them, his whole authoritie in gouernment, & violently taketh to them selues that rule on them, which he by policie hath graunted vnto other. And who waying wel ẏ heuinesse of the fault, may not iustly say and holde them to be worse heere in then any kinde of brute beasts? For we see that the Sheep will obey the shepheard, and the Nete be ruled by the Neteheard, & the Horse wil knowe his keeper, and the Dog wil be in awe of his maister, and euery one of them feed there and of that, as his keeper and ruler dooth appoint him, and goeth from thence and that as he is forbidden by his ruler. And yet we haue not heard of: that any herd or company of these, haue risen against their Herdman or gouernour, but be alwaies contented not only to obey them: but also to suffer thē to take profit of thē.

And we see furthermore that all heards and all iortes be more eger in fircenesse against all kinde of straūgers then they be again their owne rulers, and wil easier offend him who hath not hurt them, then touch their ruler who seeketh profit on them. But ye that ought to be gouer-

ned by your Magistrates as the herds by the Heardman and ought to be like shéep to your king, who ought to be like a Shepheard vnto you, euen in the time when your profit was sought, and better redresse was intended, then your vpstirs and vnquietnes could obtain, haue beyõd the crueltie of all beasts fowlely risen against your ruler, and shewed your selues worthy to be ordred like beasts, who in kinde of obedience will fall from the state of men. A Dog stoupeth when he is beaten of his maister, not for the lack of stomack: but for naturall obedience, you béeing not stricken of your hed but fauoured, not kept down but succoured & remedied by law, haue violétly against law, not only not barked like beasts: but also bitten like helhounds. What is the mischéef of seditiõ, other not knowen vn to you or not feared? Haue not examples aforetimes bothe tolde ỹ end of Rebels, and the wickednesse of rebellion it self? But as for olde examples let them passe for a while as things wel to be considered, but at this present one thing more to be wayed. Looke vpon your selues as

ter ye haue wickedly kept into this hor-
rible kinde of treason, dw ye not see how
many hot tomlesse whirlepoles of mis-
chéef ye be gulpht withall, and what lothe
some kindes of Rebellion ye be faine to
wade thorowe?

Ye haue sent out (in the Kings name,
against the Kings wil) precepts of all
kindes, and without commaundement
commaunded his Subiects, and vnrule-
ly haue ruled where ye listed to com-
maund, thinking your owne fancyes the
Kings commaundements, and rebelles
lusts in things, to be right gouernment
of things, not loking what should follow
by reason, but what your selues folowe
by affection. And is it not a dangerous
and a cruel kinde of treason, so to giue
out precepts to the kings people? Where
can be no iust execution of lawes, refor-
mation of faults, giuing out of commaun-
dements, but from the King. For in the
King only is the right hereof, and the au-
thoritie of him derined by his appoint-
ment to his ministers. Ye hauing no au-
thoritie of the king but taking it of your-
selues, what think ye your selues to be?

D.vj. Yinisters

Ministers ye be none except ye be the Deuils ministers, for he is the author of sedition. The kings Maiestie intendeth to maintain peace and to oppresse warre, ye stir vp vprores of people, burley burlyes of Vagabonds, routes of robbers, is this any parte of the Kings ministery? If a Vagabond wold do what him lust, and call himself your seruant and execute suche Offices of trust whether ye would or no, as ye haue committed to another mans credit, what would euery one of you say or do herein? Would ye suffer it? Ye wander out of houses, ye make euery day new matters as it pleseth you, ye take in hand the execution of those things (God by his word forbidding the same) which God hath put the magistrates in trust withall. What can ye say to this? Is it sufferable think ye? If ye folde a priuate message in an other mans name, can it be but a false lye I pray ye? And to tell a faigned message to the common welth and that from the King, can it be honest think ye? To commaund is more then to speake, what is it then to commaund so traitorously a lye?

This

This then which is in word a deceitful lye, & indéed a traiterous fact, noysõe to the cõmõ welth, vnhonorable to ẏ king, mischéeuous in you, how can you other wise iudge of it, but tobe an vnheard of & notable disobediẽce to ẏ king, & therfore by notable exãple tobe punished, and not with gentlenes of pardõ to be forgiuen.

Ye haue robbed euery honest house, and spoyled them vniustly, and pitiously wrung poore men béeing no offenders, to their vtter vndoing, and yet ye thinck ye haue not brokẽ the kings lawes. The kings Maiesties law and his commaundement is, that euery manne should safely kéepe his owne, and vse it reasonably to an honest gaine of his liuing. Ye violently take and cary away from mẽ without cause, all things wher by they should maintain, not only them selues but also their family, and leaue them so naked that they shall féele the smart of your cursed enterprise, longer then your owne vnnaturall and vngodly stomacks would wel vouchsafe. By iustice ye should neither hurt nor wrõg man, and your pretenced cause of this

monstrous

monstrous sturre is to increase mennes welth. And yet how many e say trueth haue ye decaied and vndon by spoyling and taking away their goods? How should honest men liue quietly in ỹ common welth at any time if their goods other gotten by their owne labour, or left to them by their frends, shall vnlawfully and vnorderly to the feeding of a sorte of rebels, be spoyled and wasted and vterly scattered abrode. The thing ye take is not your right, it is an other mans owne. The maner of taking against his will is vnlawful and against the order of euery good common welth. The cause why ye take it is mischeuous and horrible to fat vp your sedition, ye that take it be wicked traitors and common enemies of all good order. If he that desireth an other mans goods or Cattel do fault: what doth he thinck you whole desire, taking foloweth and is led to and fro by lust, as his wicked fancy voide of reason doth guide him? He that vseth not his owne wel and charitably hath much to answere for; and shall they be thought not vniust, which not onely take away o-

ther

ther mens, but also misuse & waste the same vngodly? They that take things priuily away & stele secretly and couertly other mens goods, be by law iudged worthy death. And shall they that without shame spoile things openly, and be not afeard by impudẽce to professe their spoil, be thought either honest creatures to God, or faithful subiects to their king, or naturall men to their Countrie? If nothing had moued you but th' example of mischeef, & the soule practise of other moued by the same, ye should yet haue abstained frõ so licencio⁹ & villanous a shew of robery, cõsidering how many honester there be ý beeing lothe their wickednesse should be blased abrode, yet be fond out by prouidẽce & hãged for desert. What shal we then think or say of you? Shall we cal you pickers or bid theues? nay more thẽ thæues, day thæues, herd stealers, shire spoylers and vtter destroyers of all kindes of familyes, both amõg the poore and also among the rich. Let vs yet farther se, is there no mo things wherin ye haue broken ý Kings lawes, and so vilely disobeyed him contrary to

your

your bounden dutie:

Ye haue not onely spoiled the Kings true Subiects of their goods, but also ye haue imprisoned their bodyes, whiche should be at libertie vnder the king, and restrained thē of their seruice which by dutie they owe the King, and appaired bothe strēgth and helth, wherwith they liue and serue the king. Is there any honest thing more desired then libertie: ye haue shamefully spoiled them therof. Is there any thing more dutifull then to serue their Lord and Maister: But as that was deserued of th'one part, so was it hindered and stopped on your parte. For neither can the King be serued, nor familyes kept, nor the common welth loked vnto, where frædome of libertie is stopped, & diligence of seruice is hindered, and the help of strēgth and helth abated. Mens bodyes ought to be free from all mens bondage and crueltie, and only in this realme be subiect in publike punishment to our publike gouernoure, and neither be touched of bedlesse Captains, nor holden of brainlesse Rebels. For the gouernmēt of so precious a thig

ought

ought to belong vnto the moste noble ru-
ler, and not iustly to be in euery mans
power, whiche is iustly euery liuing
mans treasure. For what goods be so
deer to euery man as his owne body is,
which is the true vessel of the minde, to
be measurably kept of euery man, for al
exercises and seruices of the minde: If
ye may not of your owne authorite med
dle with mens goods: muche lesse you
may of your owne authoritie take ou-
er with mens bodyes. For what be
goods in comparison of helth, libertie and
strength, which be all setled and fastned
in the body. They that strike other do
greatly offend and be iustly punishable,
and shal they that cruelly and wrongful
ly tormēt mens bodyes with irons and
imprisonmēt, be thought not of other but
of them selues honest, plain and true de-
ling men: What shall we say by them
who in a priuate busines will let a man
to go his iourney in ỹ kings high way:
do they not think it plain wrong: Then
is a common cause not onely to hinder
one but also to deale cruelly with them,
and shut them from doing their seruice

to the King and their dutie to the com-
mon welth, is it not bothe disobedience
and crueltie, & mischéef think ye: What
an hinderaunce is it to haue a good gar-
ment hurt, any Jewel appaired, or any
esteemed thing to be decayed: and séeing
no earthly thing a man hath more preci
ous then his body, to cause it be cruelly
tormẽted with irons, fœbled with colde,
weakned with ordering: can it be thought
any other thing but wrong to the suffe-
rer, crueltie in the doer, and great diso-
bedience and transgression to the King?
Now then be ye able to defend, but sée-
ing ye so vnpitifully ber men, cast them
in prison, lade thẽ with irons, pine them
with famin, contrary to the rule of na-
ture, contrary to the Kings maiesties
lawes, contrary to Gods holy ordinaun
ces, hauing no matter but pretensed and
fained glosses, ye be not only disobedient
to the King like Rebels: but withstand-
ing the law of nature like beasts, and so
worthy to dye like Dogs, except ỹ kings
maiestie without respect of your deser-
uing do mercifully graũt you of his good
nes, ỹ which ye cannot escape by iustice.

Yet

Yet ye being not content with these as smal things: enterprise greater matters, and as though he could not satisfie your self, if he should leaue any mischeef vndone, haue sought blod with crueltie, and haue slain many of the Kings true Subiects, thincking their murder to be your defence, when as ye haue increased the fault of your vile Rebellion with the horror of blodshed, and so haue burdened mischeef with mischeef while it come to an intolerable waight of mischef. What could ye do more in the horribleſt kinde of faults to ỳ greateſt transgressors and offenders of God and men, then to loke straightly on thẽ by death, and so to rid them out of the cõmon welth by seuere punishment, whome ye thought vnworthy to liue among men for their doings? And those who haue not offended ỳ king but defended his Realme, and by obedience of seruice sought to punish the disobedient, and for sauegarde of euery man put thẽ selues vnder dutie of law, those haue ye miserably and cruelly slain, and bathed ye in their blod, whose doings ye should haue folowed, and so haue ap-

paired the common welth, bothe by destruction of good men and also by increasing of Rebels. And how can the cõmon welth by any meanes indure, wherin euery man without authoritie may vnpunished slea whome he lisk, and that in such cases as those who be slaine shewe them selues moste notable of courage, and moste redy to serue the King & the common welth, and those which do slea be moste villanouse and traitorous Rebels, that any common welth did euer sustain?

For a Citie and a Prouince be not the faire houses and the strong walles, nor the dead defence of any Engins, but the liuing bodyes of men beeing able in number and strength to maintain themselues by good order of iustice, & to serue for all necessary and behouable vses in the common welth. And when as many body beeing a parte of the whole cõmon welth is wrongfully touched any way, and specially by death: then suffereth the common welth great iniury, and that al way so much ỹ more, how honester and nobler he is who is iniuriously murde-

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red. Howe was the Lord Sheffeeld handled among you, a noble Gentleman and of good seruice, both fit for councell in peace, and for conduct in war: Consider ye either the grauitie of his wisdome, or the authoritie of his persõ, or his seruice to the common welth, or the hope that all men had of him, or ỹ nẽed that England had of such, or amõg many notable and good, his singuler excellency, or the fauor of all men towarde him, bẽing loued of euery man and hated of no man: Consider ye who should by dutie be the kings Subiects, other how ye should not haue offended the King, or after offence haue required the Kings pardõ, or not to haue refused his goodnes offered, or at length to haue yẽlded to his mercy, or not to haue slain those who tẽde for his seruice, or to haue spared those who in danger offered ransom. But all these things forgotten by rage of rebellion, because one madnes cãnot be without infinit vices, ye slew him cruelly, who offered him self manfully, nor would not spare for ransome, who was worthy for noblenes to haue had honor, and bewed him bare

whome ye coulde not hurt armed, and by flauery slew nobilitie, indeed miserably, in fashion cruelly, in cause ciuilishly. Oh with what cruell spight was violently sundered so noble a body from so godly a minde? Whose death must rather be revenged the lamented, whose death was no lack to him self but to his countrie, whose death might euery way be better borne then at a Rebels hand. Violence is in all things hurtful, but in life horrible. What should I speake of others in the same case, diuerse & notable, whose death for manhood and seruice can want no worthy praise, so long as the ougley stirres of rebellion can be had in minde? God hath him self ioyned mãs body and his soule together, not to be departed a sunder, afore he either diseuer thẽ him self, or cause them to be diseuered by his minister. And shall Rebels and bedlesse campes, beeing armed against God, and in feeld against their king, think no fault to shed ỹ blood of true Subiects, hauing neither office of God, nor appointment of ministers nor iust cause of rebellion? If he that stealeth any parte of a mans

substance

substance is worthy to lose his life: what shall we think of them who spoil men of their lives: for the maintenaunce wherof not onely substance & riches be sought for, but also all common welths be deuised? Now then if your owne consciences should be made your iudges, and none other set to giue sentence against ye, seing ye haue beene suche great blodshedders, so hainouse manquelliers, so horrible murtherers, could ye do any other then plainly confesse your soule & wicked Rebellion, to be greeuous against God, and trayterouse to the King, and hurtful to the common welth?

So many greeuous faultes meeting togither in one sink, might not only haue discouraged but also driuen to desperation any other honest or indiferēt minde. But what feel they whose harts so deep mischeef hath hardned, and by vehemētnes of affection be made vnshamefaste, and stop all discourse of reason, to let at large the ful scope of their vnmeasurable madnes? Priuate mens goods seemeth little to your vnsatiable desires, ye haue waged greedy now vpon Cities, & haue

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attempted

attempted mighte spoyles to glut vp (and ye could) your wasting hunger. Oh how much haue they need of, that will neuer be contented: and what riches can suffise any that wil attempt high enterprices aboue their estate? Ye could not maintain your Campes with your private goods, with your neighbours portion, but ye must also attempt Cities, because ye sought great spoiles with other mens losses, and had forgotten how ye liued at home honestly with your owne and thought them worthy death, that would disquiet ye in your house, & pluck away that whiche ye by right of Lawe thought to be your owne.

Herein see what ye would haue done: spoyled the kings maiesties subiects, weakened the Kings strength, ouerthrowen his townes, taken away his munition, drawen his Subiects to like rebellion, yea and as it is among forain enemyes in sacking of Cities: no dout thereof, ye would haue fallen to slaughter of men, rauishing of wiues, deflouring of maids, chopping of Children, firing of houses, beating down of stéetes, ouerthrowing

of

of altogither. For what measure haue men in the increase of madnesse, when they cannot at the beginning stay themselues from falling into it? And if the besetting of one house to rob it be iustly demed worthy death: what shall we think of them that beséedge whole Cities for desire of spoil? We liue vnder a King to serue him at all times when he shall néed our strength, and shall ye then not only withdraw your selues (which ought as much to be obedient as we be) but also violently pluck other away to fro the dutie vnto the which by Gods cõmaundement all subiects be straightly bound, and by all lawes euery nation is naturally led? The Townes be not only the ornament of the Realme: but also ỹ seat of Merchants, the place of handycrafts, that men scattered in villages and néeding diuerse things, may in little rome knowe where to finde their lack. To ouerthrowe them then is nothing els but to waste your owne cõmodities, so that whẽ ye would buy a necessary thing for money: ye could not tel where to finde it. Munition serueth the king not only for

the defence of his owne: but also for the
invation of his enemye. And if ye wil
then so straightly dele with him, that ye
wil not let him so muche as defend his
owne: ye offer him double iniury, bothe
that ye let him from doing any notable
fact abrode: & also that ye suffer not him
quietly to inioy his owne at home. But
herin hath notably appeared, what Ci-
tyes haue faithfully serued and suffred
extreme danger, not only of goods but al-
so of famin and death, rather then to suf-
fer the Kings enemyes to enter, & what
white liuered Cities, hath not only not
withstand them, but also with shame fa-
noured them: and with mischeef ayded
them. And I would I might praise her-
in all Cyties alike, which I would do if
all were like worthy. For then I might
shew more faith in subiects: then streigth
in Rebels, and testifie to men to come,
what a generall faith every Citie hare
to ỹ Kings maiestie, whose age although
it were not fit to rule: yet his subiects
harts willing to obey, thinking not on-
ly of his hope which all men cõceiue her-
after to be in him: but also of ỹ iust kinde

of gouernment, whiche in his minoritie his Councel doth vse among them.

And heer how much and how worthyly may Excester be commended, which beeing in the midest of Rebels vnfurnished, vnfurnished, vnprepared for so long a siege, did nobly holde out the continuall and dangerous assault of the Rebel. For they sustained the violence of the Rebel, not onely when they had plentie inough of vitail: but also xj. or xij. dayes after the extreme famine came on them, & liuing without bread, were in courage so manful, & in dutie so constant, ỹ they thought it yet muche better to dye the extreme death of hunger, shewing trueth to their king and loue to their Countrie: then to giue any place to the Rebel and fauours him ẅ aide, although they might haue don it with their lesse danger. Whose example if Norvvich had followed and had not rather ginen place to traitor Ket then to kep their dutie, & had not sought more sauegarde then honestie, and priuate hope more then common quietnes they had ended their Rebellion sooner, and escaped them selues better, and sa-

ned the losse of ỹ worthy Lord Sheffeeld, in whome was more true seruice for his life then in them for their gods. And although this cannot be spoken against certain honest that were amongst them whose praise was the greater because they were so few: yet the great number was such that they not only obeyed the Rebel for fear: but also followed him for loue, and did so traitorously order the kings band vnder my Lord Marquesse, that they suffred more dammage out of their houses by the townesmen: thē they did abrode by the Rebels. Whose fault as the Kings maiestie may pardon, so I would either the example might be forgotten, that no Citie might hereafter follow the like, or the déed be so abhorred, that other hereafter would auoide ỹ like shame and learne to be noble by Excester, whose trueth doth not onely deserue long prayses: but also great rewarde.

Who then that would willingly defend ye can say any thing for ye, which haue so diuersly faulted, so traitorously offended, not only against priuate men seuerally: but also generally against whole

whole townes, and that after such a sort, as outwarde enemyes ful of deadly hatred, could not more cruelly invade the? And thus the Kings maiestie dishonored, his Councel disobeyed, the goods of the poore spoyled, the houses of the welthy sacked, honest mens bodies imprisoned, worthy mens personages slaine, Cities besieged and threatned, and all kinde of things disordered, can ye without teares and repentance hear spoken of (which without honestie and godlines be practised) and not finde in your harts now to returne to dutie, which by witchcraft of sedition were drowned in disorder? Have ye not in disorder first grieuously offended God, next traitorously risen against your King, and so nother worthy euerlasting life as long as ye so remain, nor yet ciuile life beeing in such a breach of common quietnes? If euery one of these cannot by them selues pluck you back from this your lewd and outragious enterprises: yet let all togither stir ye or at least be a fearful example to other, to beware by your vnmeasurable folly, how they do so far prouoke God or offend

man, and finde by your mistemper to be them selues better ordered and learne stil to obey, because they would not repent, and so to liue with honestie, that they would neither willingly offend Gods law nor disobey mans.

But and ye were so much blered that you did think impossible things, & your reason gaue ye against all reason, that ye neither displeased God héerin, nor offended the king: yet be ye so blinde that ye vnderstand not your owne case, nor your neighbours misery, nor the ruine of the whole common welth which dooth euidently followe your so foule and detestable sedition? Doo ye not sée how for the maintenaunce of these vngodly rablements, not only Cities and Villages but also Shéeres and Countries be vtterly destroyed? Is not their corne wasted, their Cattel fet away, their houses rifled, their goods spoyled, and all to féede your vprising without reason, & to maintain this tumult of Rebellion inuented of the Deuil, continued by you, and to be ouerthrowen by the power of Gods mightie hand? And why should not so

hurt-

hurtfull walking and herying of Countryes, be iustly punished with great seuerytie, seeing robbing of houses and taking of purses do by law deserue the extremitie of death: How many suffer iniury when one hundred of a Shéere is spoyled: & what iniury think ye is done when not only whole shéres be destroyed: but also euery quarter of the Realme touched: Haue ye not brought vppon vs all pouertie, weakenesse & hatred within the Realme, & discourage shame and dãmage wout the Realme: If ye miserably intẽded not only to vndo other, but also to destroy your selues and to ouerthrowe ỹ whole Realme, could ye haue taken a redyer way to your owne ruine then this is: And first if ye be any thing reasonable, lift vp your reason and way by wisdõ, if not all thing: yet your owne cases and learn in the beginning of matters, to foresee the end, and so iudge aduisedly, or ye enter into any thing rashely. Se ye not this yéer the losse of Harueste And think ye, ye can grow to welth that yéer when ye lose your thrift and profit: Barnes be your mens storehouses, wher

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inlyeth a great parte of euery mannes owne liuing, his Mines & his childrens liuing, wherewith men maintain their familyes, pay their rents, and therefore be alwayes thought moste riche when they haue best crops. And now when there is nother plentie of hay, nor sufficient of strawe, nor corne inough and that through the greate disorder of your wicked Rebellion, can ye thinck ye do wel whē ye vndo your selues, and iudge it a common welth when the commons is destroyed, and seeke your hap by vnhappynesse, and esteeme your owne losse to be your owne frowardnesse, and by this iudgement shew your selues how little ye vnderstand other mennes matters, when ye can scarcely consider the waightiest of your owne? Hath not the Hay this yeer as it rose from the ground so rotted to the ground again? and where it was wont by mens seasonable labour to be taken in due time, and then serue for the maintenaunce of Horse and Cattel, wherewith we liue, now by your disordered mischeef, hath bin by mens Idlenes and vndutifulnes let alone vntouched

touched, and so neither serued the pwr
to make money of, nor any Cattell to
liue with. The Corne was sowen with
labour and the ground tilled for it with
labour, and loked to be brought home
again with labour, & for lack of honest
labourers is lost on the ground, the ow-
ners beeing loyterers, and seeking other
mens haue lost their owne, and hoping
for mountains: lacked their present thrift,
neither obtaining that they sought: nor
seeking that they ought. And how shall
men liue when the maintenaunce of
their prouisiõ is lacking? For labouring
and their olde store is wasted by wilde-
nes of sedition, & so neither spare the olde
nor saue the new. How can men be fed
then, or beasts liue, when as such waste-
ful negligence is miserably vsed, & mis-
pẽding the time of their profit in shame-
ful disorder of inobedience? They care
not greatly what becomes of their owne
because they intẽd to liue by other mẽs.
Hay is gone, Corne is wasted, straw is
spoyled, what reckening of haruest can
ye make other for the ayde of other, or
for the relefe of your selues? And thus

haue ye brought in one kinde of misery which if ye saw before, as ye be like to feel after, although ye had hated the common welth, yet for loue of your selues ye would haue auoided the great inormity therof, into the whiche ye wilfully now haue cast in your selues.

An other no lesse is, that suche plentie of vitaile as was abundantly in euery quarter for the releef of vs all, is now all wastefulfy and vnthriftfully spent, in maintaining you vnlawful Rebels, and so with disorder all is consumed, whiche with good husbandry might long haue indured. For so much as would haue serued a whole yeer at home with diligent and skilful heed of husbandry: that is wilfully wasted in a Moneth in the Camp, through the rauening spoile of villanye. For what is vnordered but a wastefull spoile? whereof, the inconuenience is so great as ye be worthy to feel, and bringeth in more hardnesse of liuing, greater dearth of all thing, and occasioneth many causes of diseases. The price of thigs must needs increace much, when ye number of things waxeth lesse, and by scarsi-

tie

tie be inhanced, and compelleth men to abate their liberalitie in house, bothe to their owne and also to straungers. And where the rich wanteth: what can the poore finde? who in a common scarcitie liueth moste scarcely, and feeleth quicklyest the sharpnes of staruing, when euery man for lack is hunger bittē, whiche if ye had wel remembred before, as ye now may after perceiue: yee would not (I think) so stifneckedly haue resisted and indaungered your self in the storme of famin, wherof ye moste likely must haue the greatest parte, which moste stuburnly resisted to your owne shame and and confusion.

Experience teacheth vs that after a great dearth commeth a great death, for that men in greate want of meat eate much il meat, they fil their bodyes with il humors, and cast thē from their state of helth into a subiection of sicknesse, because the good blood in the body is not able to keep his temper, for the multitude of the il humors that corrupteth ẏ same. And so growe great and deadly plagues and destroy great numbers of all sortes,

sparing no kinde that they light on, neither respecting the poꝛ with mercy, noꝛ the rich with fauour. Can ye therfoꝛe think heerein when ye sée decay of bytailes, the rich pinch, the poꝛe famish, the folowing of diseases, the greatnes of death, the mourning of widowes, the pitifulnes of the fatherlesse, and all this misery to cõe thꝛough your vnnaturall misbehauiour, that ye haue not dangerously hurt the commons of your Countrie with a dolefull and an vncurable wound? These things beeing once felt in thẽ cõmon welth as they must néeds be, euery man séeth by and by what followeth, a greate diminishment of the strength of the Realme, when the due number that the Realme doth maintain is made lesse, and thereby we be made rather a pꝛay foꝛ our enemyes, then a safetie foꝛ our selues.

And how can there be but a great decay of people at the length, when some be ouerthꝛowen in war, some suffer foꝛ punishment, some pine foꝛ famin, some dye with the Camps dyat, some be consumed with sickness? Foꝛ although ye

think

think your selues able to match with a few vnprepared Gentlemen, & put them from their houses, that ye might gaine the spoil, do ye iudge therfore your selues strong inough, not only to withstād a Kings power, but also to ouerthrowe it? Is it possible that ye should haue so mad a frensie in your hed, that ye should think the number ye sée so strong, that all ye sée not, should not be able to preuail to the contrary? Which what reason could ye think that if ye bode the hot hunt of battail, but ye must nēds féele the smart, specially if the Kings power comming against you, which if ye fears not, belike ye knowe not the force therof? And so much the greater number is lost in the Realme, that bothe the ouercommer and the ouercommed be parties (although vnlike) of one Realme: and what losse is not onely of either side, but of bothe, that doth plainly redound to the whole. Then where so great and so horrible a fault is committed: as woorse can not be mētioned of from the beginning, and bringeth in withall suche penury, such weakenesse, such disorder in ỹ com-

mon welth, as no mischéef beside could doo the like, can any man thinck with iust reason that all shall escape vnpunished that shall escape the sword, and not many for terrour and examples sake, should be looked vnto, who haue béen either great doers in such a disordered vilany, or great counsailers to such an out growen mischéef, séeing the only remedy of redressing wilful faultes is a iust and a seuere punishment of such whose naughtie déeds good men ought to abhor for dutyes sake, and il men may dreade for like punishments sake.

For a frée licence to doo mischéefe vnpunished; is so dangerous, that the sufferaunce of one is the occasion of the fall of a great number, and womannnish pitie to one: is a deceitfull crueltiy to the whole, intising them to their owne destruction by sufferaunce, whiche would haue auoided the danger before punishment. And in such a barennesse of vittail, as must néeds cōe after so rauening a spoil: it must néeds be that some though few, shalbe so nipt with egernes of famin, that they shall not recouer against

the

them selues out of so fretting a danger. So in a generall weakenes where all shalbe feebled, some must needs dye and so diminish the number, and abate such strength as the Realme defended it self withall afore. Which occasion of never so few, comming of so great a cause, if ye should make iust amends for, not of recompence which ye could not: but of punishment which ye ought, how many, how diuerse, & how cruel deaths ought euery one of ye often suffer? How many came to the Camps from long labour to suddain ease, & from meane fare to stroying of vitail? And so fel in a maner vnwares to such a contrary chaunge, that nature her self abiding never great and sudain chaũges cannot bear it wõut sõe groũds entred of diseases to come, which vncircõspect mẽ shall sooner fẽel thẽ think of, and then wil scarcely Iudge ỹ cause, when they shalbe vered with the effect. It is little meruail that Idlenes & meat of a nother mans charge wil soon fẽd vp and fat likely men, but it is great meruail if Idlenes and other mens meat do not abate ỹ fame by Actiues again and spe-

specially comming from the one and going to th'other, contrary in those who violently seeke to turne in a moment, the whole Realme to the contrary. For while their minde chaungeth from obedience to vnrulynesse, and turneth it self from honestie to wildenes, and their bodyes go from labour to Idlenes, from small fare to spoile of vitail, & from beds in the night to cabins, and from swæte houses to stinking Camps, it must néeds be by chaunging of affections which altereth the body, and by vsing of rest that filleth the body, and Glutting of meats which weakneth the body, & with colde in the nights which accraseth the body, and with corrupt ayre whiche infecteth the body, that there followe some greuous tempest, not onely of contagious sicknes, but also of present death to the body. The greatest pluck of all is that vehemẽce of plague which naturally followeth the dint of hunger, which when it entreth once among men, what darts of pangs, what throwes of paines, what shoutes of death doth it cast out? how many fall, not astonyed with ỹ sicknes:

but

but fretted with the pain, how beateth it down, not only small townes: but also great Countries?

This when ye see light, first on your beast, which lacketh fodder, and after fal on men, whose bodyes gapeth for it, and se the scarcenes of mē to be by this your foule enterprise, and not only other men touched w̄ plagues: but also your owne house stung with death, and the plague also raised of your rising to fire your fetues, can ye thinck to be any other but manquellers of other and murderers of your selues, and the principalles of the overthrow of so great a number, as shall either by sword or punishment, famin or some plague or pestilēce be consumed and wasted out of the common welth? And seing he that decayeth the number of Cotages or plowes in a town seemeth to be an enemy to the common welth: shall we not count him not only an enemie but also a murtherer of his country, who by barbrained unrulinesse caused the utter ruine and pestilent destruction of so many thousand men? Graunt this folly then and overlight to be such as wor-

thyly ye may count it, and I shall go fur-
ther in declaring of other great inconue-
niences, which your dãgerous and furi-
ous misbehauiour hath hurtfully brought
in. Seeing diuerse honest & true dealing
men (whose liuing is by their owne pro-
uision) hath come so aforehand by time
that they haue beene able wel to liue ho-
nestly in their houses, and pay besides
the rents of their farmes truely, & now
haue by your cruelties and abhorred in-
surrections lost their goods, their Cattel,
their Harnest, which they had gotten be-
fore, and wherwith they entended to liue
hereafter, and now be brought to this ex-
tremitie, that they be nether able to liue
as they were wont at home afore: nor to
pay their accustomable rent at their due
time. Wherby they be brought into
trouble & vnquietnes, not onely musing
what they haue lost by you: but also cur-
sing you by whom they haue lost it, and
also in danger of losing their holdes at
their Lords hands except by pitie they
shew more mercy, then the right of the
law wil graunt by Justice. And what a
greefe is it to an honest man to labour &

truely

truely in youth, and to gain painfully by labour wherwith to liue honestly in age, and to haue this gotte in long time to be certainly raught away by ỹ violẽce of sedition, which name he ought to abhorre by it self although no misery of losse followed to him therby. But what greater gréef ought seditious Rebels to haue thẽselues (who if they be not stricken with punishment, yet ought to pine in conscience and melt away with the gréefe of their owne faults) when they se innocents and men of true seruice, hindered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, and why in a good cõmon welth should for honesties sake prosper, they by these Rebels only meanes, be cast so behinde the hand, as they cannot recouer easely again by their owne trueth, that as they haue lost by those traitors mischéefe? And if vniust men ought not so to be handled at any mans hands, but only stand to the order of a law: how muche more should true and faithfull Subiects, who deserue praise, féele no vnquietnes, nor be vexed with sedition, who be obediently in subiection, but rather séek suit

amends at false rebels hãds, and by law obtain that they lost by disorder, and so constrain you to th'uttermost to pay the recõpence of wrongful losses because ye were the authors of these wrongful spoiles. Then would ye soone perceiue the common welths hurt, not when others felt it who deserued it not: but when you smarted who caused it, and stood not and looked vpon other mens losses, which ye might pitie but tormented with your owne which ye would lament.

Now I am past this mischeef, whiche ye wil not hæraftet deny when ye shall praise other mennes foresight, rather then your wicked doings, in bewailing the end of your furye, in whose beginning ye now reioyce. What say ye to the number of vagabonds and loytring beggers, which after the ouerthrowe of your Camp and scattering of this seditious number, wil swarme in euery corner of the Realme, and not only lye loytring vnder hedges, but also stand sturdely in Cities, and beg boldely at euery doore, leauing labour whiche they like not, and following idlenesse which they

should

should not. For every man is easely and naturally brought frō labour to ease, from the better to the worse, from diligence to slouthfulnes, and after warres it is commonly seen that a great number of those which went out honest, return hōe again like roisters, & as though they were burnt to the warres bottom, they haue all their life after an vnsauery smack therof, and smel still toward dayspeepers, pursepickers highwayrobbers quarelmakers, yea and bloodsheders to. Dow we not see commonly in the end of warres, more robbing, more begging, more murdering thē before, and those to stand in ỹ high way to aske their almes whome ye be afraid to say nay vnto honestly, lest they take it away frō you violently, and haue more cause to suspect their strength then pittie their nede? Is it not then dayly heard howe men be not only pursued but vtterly spoyled, and few may ride safe by ỹ kings way, except they ride strong, not so much for feare of their goods which men esteeme lesse: but also for danger of their life which every man loueth. Work is vnknown at home and loyterers linger in stretes, lurk in Alehouses,

raunge in highwayes, valiant beggers play in townes and yet complain of néed, whose staf if it be once hot in their hand, or sluggishnesse bred in their bosome: they will neuer be allured to labour again, contenting them selues better with idle beggery, then with honest and profitable labour.

And what more noysome Beasts be in a common welth? Drones in Hiues suck out the Honie, a small matter: but yet to be loked on by good husbands. Caterpillers destroy the fruite, a hurtful thing and wel shifted for by a diligent ouerseer. Diuerse vermin destroy Corne, kil Vullain, engins and snares be made for the. But what is a loyterer? A sucker of Honie, a spoyler of Corne, a destroyer of fruite, nay a waster of money, a spoyler of vittaile, a sucker of blood, a breaker of orders, a seeker of breakes, a queller of life, a basilisk of the common welth, whiche by company and sight both poyson the whole Contrie, and staineth honest mindes with the infection of his venim, and so draweth the common welth to death and destruction.

Suche is the frutes of your labours

and

and trauail for your pretenced common welth, whiche Iustice would no manne should taste of but your selues, that yee might truely iudge of your owne mischeef and fray other by example from presuming the like. When we se a great number of flyes in a yeere, we naturally iudge it like to be a great plague, and hauing so great a swarming of loytring Vagabōds redy to beg and brawle at euery mans doore, which declare a great infection, can we not looke for a greeuouser and perillouser danger then the plague is? Who can therfore otherwise deeme, but this one deadly hurt wherewith the common welth of our nation is wounded, beside all other is so pestilent, that there can be no more hurtful thing in a well gouerned state, nor more throwen into all kinde of vice and vnrulynes? and therefore this your sedition is not onely moste odious but also moste horrible, that hath spotted the whole countrie with such a stain of Idlenes. There can be none end of faults, if a man rehearse all faults ẏ doo necessarily followe this vnruly stordines. For not onely Vagabonds wādring and scat-

tering

fering them selues for mischæf, shall run in a mans eyes, but also disorder of euery degræ, shall enter in into a mans minde, and shall beholde hærby the cõmon welth miserably defaced by you, who shoulde as muche as other haue kept your selues in order in it. Neither be the Magistrates duely obeyed, nor the Lawes iustly feared, nor degræs of men considered, nor Maisters wel serued, nor parents truly reuerenced, nor Lords remembred of their tenants, nor yet other natural or ciuil Law much regarded. And it is plainly vnpossible that that Countrie shall wel stand in gouernment, & the people growe to welth: where order in euery state is not fitly obserued, and that body cannot be without muche græfe of inflamation, where any least part is out of ioint, or not duly set in his owne naturall place.

Wherfore order must be kept in the comanon welth: like health in the body, and all the drift of pollicie leketh to this end, how this tẽper may be safely maintained, without any excesse of vnmeasurablenesse, either of th'one side or of the other. And easie inough it is to kæpe the same

same when it is once brought into the meane, and to holde it in the stay it is found in, but when it bursteth out once with a vehemence, and hath gotten into an vnruiely disorder: it spreadeth so fast and ouer floweth all honest mens resisting so violently, that it will be hard to recouer the breach of long time again, except with great and wise counsel (which ons no doubt shalbe in season vsed) there be wunderful remedies sought therfore. And euen as a man falling is easier holde vp by stay then whē he is faine down, he is able to rise again: so is the common weith slipping, by the foresight of wisdome, better kept from ruine then when it is once fallen into any kinde of misery, the same may be called again to the olde and former state. Do we not euidently knowe, that a man may better keepe his arme or his Legge from breaking or falling out of ioynt, afore hurte come to it, then after the hurt it may safely and quietly be healed and restored to the former helth again? And now thou rowe your seditiō meanes, things that were afore quiet and in good order, law-

es feared and obeyed, subiects ruled and kept in duetie, be all now in great disor-der, and like if it be not holpen: to growe to wildenesse and a beastlynesse, seeing that neither common duties can be kept which nature prescribeth, nor common law can be regarded, which e pollicie requireth. How can ye keepe your owne if ye keepe no order? your Wife and Children how can they be defended from o-ther mens violence: if ye wil in other things breake all order? by what reason would ye be obeyed of yours as seruãts: if ye wil not obey the king as Subiect? how would ye haue others deale orderly with you: if ye will vse disorder against all others? Seeing then there is such a confusion now of things, such a turmoile of men, such a disorder of fashions, who can looke to liue quietly a great while? who can think but that ye haue miserably tolled the common welth, and so vexed all men with disorder, that the inconuenience herof cannot onely nip others, but also touch you?

But now see how that not onely these vnlooked for mischeefs, haue heuely gro-

wen

wen on ye, but also thole commodityes, which ye thought to haue holpen your sel nes and others by: be not only hindered but also hurt therby. The kings ma-iestie by th' aduice. &c. entended a iust reformation of all suche things as pore men could truely shew them selues op-pressed with, thinking equallitie of Iu-stice, to be the Diadem of his kingdome and the sauegarde of his cõmons. Whi-che was not only entended by wisdome: but also set on with spéed, and so entred into a dew considering of all states, that none should haue iust cause to grudge a-gainst the other, when as euery thing rightfully had, nothing could be but vn-right fully grudged at. And this would haue béen don, not only with your glad and willing assent: but also béene done by this day almoste throw out ỹ whole Realme, so that quietly if it had béene obtained without inconuenience, and spédely without delay. And whatsoeuer had béene done by the kings Maiesties authoritie: that would by right haue re-mained for euer, & so taken in law that the contrary partie neither could by Iu-

ſtice, neither would by boldenes haue en
terpꝛiſed the breach therof. But leſt wic-
kes men ſhould be welthy, & they whoſe
harts be not truely bent to obedience,
ſhould obtain at the Kings hand, ẏ they
deſerued not in a cõmon welth, ye haue
merualiouſly & worthyly hurt your ſel-
ues and graciouſly prouided except the
Kings goodnes be more vnto you, then
your owne deſerts can claim: that ye be
not ſo much worthy as tobe benefited in
any kinde, as ye be worthy to loſe that
ye haue on euery ſide. Ye haue thought
good to be your owne reformers, belike
not onely vnnaturally miſtruſting the
Kings iuſtice: but alſo cruelly and vnci-
uilly dealing wt your owne neighbours.
Wherein I would as ye haue hurt the
whole realme: ſo ye had not enterpꝛiſed
a thing moſte dangerous to your ſelues,
and moſt contrary to the thing ye inten-
ded. If ye had let things alone (thought
good by your ſelues to be redreſſed) & duti-
fully loked for the perfourmance of that
the kings maieſtie promiſed reformatiõ,
they ſhould not haue bene vndon at
this time, as in a great ſort of honeſt pla-

ces

ces they be, nor those countries who for their quietnes be moste worthy tobe looked on: should haue been vnprouided for at this day. But this commoditie hath hapned by the way, that it is euidently knowen by your mischéef & others duty, who be moste true to the king and most worthy to be doon for, and who be moste pernitious and traitorous Rebels. And it is not to be douted but they shalbe considered with thanks, & finde iust redresse without deserued misery and you punished like Rebels, who might haue had bothe praise and profit like subiects. For that as ye haue valiãtly doon of your selues, think ye it wil stãd any longer then men fear your rage, which cãnot indure long, and that ye shall not then bide the rigor of the law for your priuat iniuries, as ye vsed the fury of your braines in other mens oppressions? Wil men suffer wrong at your hands when law can redresse, and the right of the cõmon welth wil maintain it, and good order in Countries wil bear it? Ye amend faults as il Surgions heale sores, which when they séeme to be whole aboue: they rancle at

the bottom, and so be fain continually to be sore, or els be mēded by new breaking of the skin. Your redresse seemeth to you perfit and good, ye haue pulled down such thing? as ye would, ye think now all is wel, ye cōsider no farther, ye seek not the bottom, ye see not ỹ sore, ỹ ye haue don it by no law, ye haue redressed it by no order, what then? If it be none otherwise serched thē by you, it wil not tary lōg so, ether it wil be after cōtinually as it was before your comming: or els it must be when all is don amended by the King. Thus haue ye bothe lacked in the time, and miss in the doing, & yet besides that ye haue don: which is by your doig to no purpose ye haue don ỹ things with such inconueniences, as haue bene bothe before rehearsed & shalbe after declared, ỹ better it had bēn for you neuer to haue inioyed the commoditie if t here be any, then to suffer the greefes that wil insue, which be very many. In euery quarter some men whome ye set by wil be lost, whiche euery one of you if ye haue lone in ye: would rather haue lacked the profit of your enclosures, then cause suche

destruction

destruction of them, as is like by reason and iudgement necessarily to followe.

What common welth is it then to doo such abhominable enterpzises after so vile a sozte that ye hinder that good yee would doo: & bzing in that hurt ye would not, and so finde that ye seek not: and so followe that ye lose, and destroy your selues by folly, rather then ye would be ozdered by reason, and so haue not so much amended your olde sozes: as bzought in new plagues, which ye your selues that deserue them will lament, and we which haue not deserued them may curse you foz. Foz although the Kings maiesties &c. entended foz your profits & reformation in his common welth, yet his pleasure was not noz no reason gaue it, that euery subiect should busely intermedle with it of their owne hed: but only those whome his councell thought most meet men foz such an honest purpose.

The Kings maiestie &c. hath godly reformed an vnclene parte of Religion, and hath bzought it to the true forme of the first Church that followed Christe, thinking that to be the truest, not what

later

later mens fansies hath of them selues deuised: but what the Apostles and their felowes had at Christes hand receiued, and willeth the same to be knowen & set abroade to all his people. Shall euery mā now that listeth and fansieth the same, take in hand vncalled to be a minister, and to set forth the same hauing no authoritie? May thoughe the thing were verye godly that were done, yet the person must nedes do ill that enterpriseth it, because he doth a good thing after an ill sort and looketh but on a litle parte of duetie considering the thing, and leaueth a great parte vnadui sed, not considering the person, when as in a wel and iustly doen matter, not only these two things ought wel to be weighed: but also good occasion of time and reasonable cause of the doing ought also much to be set afore euery mans eyes. Now in this your deed, the maner is vngodly, the thing vnsufferable, the cause wicked, the person seditious, the time traiterous, and can ye possibly by any honest defence of reason or any good conscience religiously grounded, denye that this malicious and horrible fault so

wickedly

so wickedly set on, is it not only Rebel a-
fore God, and traiterous to the king, but
also deadly and pestilent to ye whole com-
men weith of our Countrie, and so not
only overflowetheth us with ye misery: but
also overwhelmeth you with the rage
therof. Yet farther sis, & ye be not weary
with the multitude of miseryes, whiche
ye have mervailously moved: what a
you ye wilfully outbringen your selves
in stirring up this detestable sedition,
and so bring your selves into a farther
flaming; if ye use your selves often thus
inobediently. Then common order of
the law can take no place in unruly and
disobedient subiects, and all men wil of
wilfulness resist with rage, and think
their owne violence to be ye best Justice:
then be wise Magistrates compelled by
necessitie to seek an extreme remedye,
where neanmaines help not, & bring
in the Martiall law, where none other
law serveth. Then must ye be contented
to bide punishment without processe, con-
demnation without witnesse, suspition
is then taken for Judgement, and displea-
sure may be just cause of your execution

and so without fauoure ye finde straitnesse, which without rule seek violence. Ye think it a hard law and vnsufferable. It is so indeed, but yet good for a medicine. Desperate sicknesse in Phisick must haue desperate remedyes, for meane medicines wil neuer help great griefs. So if ye cast your selues into such sharp diseases: ye must needs looke for sharp medicines again at your Phisitions hands. And worthy ye be to suffer the extremitie in a common welth, which seek to do the extremitie, and by reason must receiue the like ye offer, and so be contented to bide the end willingly, which set on the beginning wilfully. For no greater shame can come to the common welth, then that those subiects which should be obedient euen without a law, cannot be contented to be ordred by the law, & by no meanes kept with in their dutie, which should euery way offend rather then in their dutie. It is a token that the Subiects lack reason, when they forsake law, and think either by their multitude to find pardō (which cānot iustly stretch to al) orels by strēgth

to beare the stroke which cannot prosper against a king. They must needs little consider them selues, who being in this necessitie, rather to stād to the pleasure of a mans will then to abide the reason of the law, and to be endangered more when an other man listeth then when him self offendeth. And this must necessarily followe if your rebellion thus continue, and while ye seek to throw downe the yoke, which ye falsely your selues burdened wall: ye bring your selues in a greater bondage, leauing safetie & following dāger, and putting your selues vnder the iustice of them, whose fauour ye might easely haue kept, if ye would willingly & dutifully haue serued. Now the gentlemen be more in trust, because the commons be vntrusty, and they gat by seruice which ye lose by stubbernes, and therfore must needs (if ye thus continue) haue more authoritie frō the king, because ye would be in lesse subiection to the king, and that as ye will not do of your selues: ye must be compelled to do by others, and that ye refuse to do willingly: thinck ye must be drawen to do

the fame constrainedly. Which when it commeth to passe, as wisdom seeth in your faults ẏ it must néeds: what gaine ye then, or what profit can arise to you by rysing, which might haue found ease in sitting stil? And what shall ye be at length ẏ better for this turmoil, whiche beside diuerse other incommodities rehersed, shalbe thus clogged with the vnsufferable burden of the Martiall law?

Yet is there one thing behinde which me thinketh your selues should not forget, séeing that ye haue giuen the cause, ye should duly look for ẏ effect. Ye haue spoyled, imprisoned and threatned gentlemen to death, and that with suche hatred of minde as may not wel be borne, the cause wherof I speake not on, which tried wil hapely be not so great, but sée ẏ thīg (set murder aside) it is ẏ hainousest fault to a priuat mā. What could more spitefully haue béen doon again thē, then ye haue vsed with crueltie? Can this doo any other but bréede in their stomacks greate grudge of displeasure towarde you, and engender suche an hatred as the weaker and the sufferer must néeds

heare

beare the smart therof. The kings best kinde of gouernment is so to rule his Subiects, as a father ordereth his Children, and best life of obedient Subiects is one to behaue him self vnto an other, as though they were brethē vnder the king their father. For loue is not the knot only of the common welth (wherby diuerse partes be perfectly ioyned together in one pollitick body) but also the strength and might of the same, gathering together into a small rowme with other, which scattered would els breede confusion and debate. Discention we se in small houses and therby may take example to great common welths, how it not only decayeth them from welth: but also abateth them from strength. Think small examples to take place in great matters, and the like, though not so great to followe in them bothe, and therby to learne to iudge of great things vnknowen, by small things perceiued.

When brethern agree not in a house goeth not the weakest to the walles, and with whome the Father taketh parte with all, is not he the likest to preuail? Is

it

it not wisdome for the yunger Brother, after the good will of the parents, to seeke his eldest Brothers fauour, who vnder them is moste able to do for him? To seek them bothe with honestie is wisdō, to lose them bothe by sullennes is madnes. Hath there not bēn dayly benefites from the gentlemē to you, in some more and in some lesse (but in none cōsidered) which they haue more frendly offered then you haue gently requited? Thus must ye lose, when ye will not be thankful and learne to gain new good will by desert when ye forsake the olde frendship vnprouoked. And ye must thik that liuing in a common welth together, one kinde hath need of an other, and yet a great sorte of you more need of one gentleman, then one gentleman of a great sort of you, and though all be partes of one common welth, yet all be not like worthy partes, but all bēing vnder obedience, some kinde in more subiection one way, and sōe kinde in more seruice another way. And seeing ye be lesse able by money and liberality to deserue good will thē other be, and your only kinde of

desert is to showe good wil, which honest mē doo wil accept asmuch worth as money: haue ye not muche hindered & hurt your selues héerin, losing that one kinde of humanitie which ye haue onely left, and turning it into crueltie whiche ye ought most to abhorre, not only because it is wicked of it self, but also moste noy some to you? I can therfore for my parte think no lesse héerin, but ye must finde some inconuenience héerin if ye follow your stifnesse stil, and must néeds iudge that ye haue wilfully brought on your selues such plagues as the like could not haue fallē on you but by your selues. Séeing then thus many waies ye haue hurt the common welth of this whole Countrie within, by destruction of shéeres, loosing of haruest, wasting of vittail, decaying of manrode, vndooing of farmers, increasing of vagabonds, maintaining of disorder, hindring of redresses, bringing in of Martiall law, and bréeding continuall hatred amongst diuerse estates, what think ye I may you? iudge ye not that ye haue committed an odious & detestable crime against ẏ whole cōmon

welth

welth, whose furderāce ye ought to haue
tendred by dutie, and not to haue sought
the hurt therof to your owne dammage?
Besides all these inward greefs which
euery one seuerally must nedes feel with
misery, there happeneth so many outward
mischāces, among straungers to vs with
disdain, y if there were nothing ill with-
in the Realme which we should feel: yet
the shame whiche doth touch vs from o-
ther countries, should not only moue but
also compel you hartely to forthink this
your rebellious sedicion. For what shall
straungers think when they shall heat
of the great miserber whiche is in this
Realme with such a confusion that no or-
der of law can keep you vnder, but must
be fain to be beaten down with a kings
power? Shal they not first think y king
maiestie in whose mide God hath pow-
red so much hope for a child, as we may
look for gifts in a mā, either for his age to
be litle set by, or for lack of qualities not
to be regarded, or for default of loue to be
reuiued, and no notable grace of God in
him considered, nor the worthynes of
his prince looked vpon, nor naturall obe-

dience

dience due to him remẽbred? Shall they not next suppose small estemation to be giuen to the rulers, to whome vnder the king we owe due obedience, that cannot in iust and lawful matters be heard, nor men to haue ỹ right iudgement of their wisdom, as their iustice in rule and for sight in councel requireth, but rather prefer their owne fancyes before others experience, and deeme their owne reason to be common welth, and other mennes wisdom to be but dreaming? Shall they not truely say, the subiects to be more vnfaithful in disobedience, then other subiects worse ordered be, and licence of libertie to make wilde heds without order, and that they neither haue reason, that vnderstand not the mischeef of sedition, nor dutie which followe their beastlynes, nor loue in them which so litle remember the cõmon welth, nor naturall affectiõ which wil dayly seek their owne destruction? Thus ỹ whole countrie lacking the good oppinion of other nations: is cast into great shame by your vnrulines, & the procedings of the countrie, be they neuer so godly shall be ill spoken of

as vnfit to be brought into vse and good things herby that deserueth praise: shall bide the rebuke of the that list to speake il, and il things vntouched shall be bolde lyer maintained. Nothing may with praise be rejected, where things be measured by chaūsable disorder, rather then by necessary vse, & that is thought moste politike that men will be best contented to do, and not that which men should be brought vnto by dutie. And with what dutie or vertue in ye, can ye quench out of mens memories this soule enterprise, or gather a good report againe to this realme, who haue so vilely with reproch slaundered the same and diuerslye discredited it among others, and abated ȳ good opinion which was had of ȳ iust gouernment and ruled order, vsed hertofore in this noble Realme, which is now moste greuous, because it is now moste without cause? If this outward opinion, without farther inconuenience were all: yet it may well be borne & would with ease decay that it grew, but it hath not onely hurt vs with voice: but endāgered vs in deed, and cast vs a great deale behinde

the

the hād where els we might haue had a ioyly for deale. For ẏ oportunitie of time (which seldom chaūceth and is alwaies to be taken) hath béene by your frowarde meanes lost this yéere, & so vainly spent at home for bringing down of you, whiche should els profitably haue béen otherwise bestowed, that it hath béen almoste as great a losse to vs abrode to lack that we might haue obtained: as it was combrance at hōe to go about the ouerthrow of you whose sedition is to be abhorred. And we might bothe conueniently haue inuaded some if they would not resonably haue growen to some kinde of freendship & also defended other, whiche would beside promise for times sake vniustly set vpon vs, and easely haue made this stormy time a faire yéere vnto vs, if our men had béen so happy at hōe as our likelyhood abrode was fortunate. But what is it I pray you either to let slip such an occasiō by negligence or to stop it by stubburnes, which once past away, can be by no menes recouered, no not though wͤ diligēce ye go about to inforce ẏ same agaī:

Was there not I pray you great hope

in the parties, and muche likelyhood in the thing that the Scots who hath bothe troubled vs and destroyed them selues to escape that happynes of perpetuall vnitie ẏ should for bothe our welths haue euermore indured, would haue resonably condiscended to some good point of freendship, had not your busie and brainsick heds come into such a busines of reason, that for a trifle whiche ye ought not to haue doonrye stopped that which ye cā neuer amend. And what had been more agreeable and conuenient for vs bothe then as nature hath made vs and enclosed vs from all other: so we might by agreement be one, and be made seuerall from other mens ruling.

For while they seek the help of other Countries, they deceiue them selues and bring them selues into a straunge subiection, rather then they would bide an equalitie with vs, which when they lay their affections a parte, and looke on their owne state with true reason: they wil then iudge what it is bothe to haue alway their neighboure an enmye, and their bought freend a ruler. But they can

not

not alwaies continue in this blinde hatred, and if they will not forsee it by reason: they must after feel it by experience and so peraduenture know it to late whē all those occasiōs, which time bringeth and God ordaineth, be taken away and cannot so conueniently be brought to passe, being wanted as they might afore being offred. There hath lacked nothing hetherto but their good willes to be English, to be equall in all benefits of this Realme, to be gouerned with one ruler and with one law, to haue ioyned our selues in alliance of blood, in equalitie of friendship, in benefit of one common welth. The lack of their partie is cause of continuall debate, endlesse war, infinit dissention, common hinderance to vs bothe, which who soeuer feeleth the greater smart, we must bothe acknowledge and finde fault with the miserye, how soeuer we will amend the cause. All this had bēn wel brought to passe now if your wicked enterprises had not much hindred their furtherance, and caused them to breath against their owne profit, and dout much to fall into an agree-

ment

ment with vs who cannot wel nor ciuil-
ly agrée among our selues: For how
should they think them selues to enter in
to a good state of common welth: where
there is nothing but disobedience of sub-
iects, rebelliō against magistrates, none
order of dutie, and vnrulynes so confuse
of the commons, that the like may per-
chaunce be found in looking ouer ẏ course
of Historyes: but the like cannot be seen
in remembring thorowe the length of al
your times: But séeing they (in cōsidera-
tion of the best) saw the hurt to be long
in lege with their hired freends, and the
danger to stand in continuall war with
their enemies thought it good councel to
ioyne with their neighbors in some nye
sort of freendship, bothe for the auoyding
of the oppression of ẏ French, which they
forsawe necessaryly to followe: & also for
redéeming quietnes which was to be got
ten at no body es hand but at ours. This
hope had and the likelyhood growing to a
certaintie, and that quietnes obtained
that bothe we should wisely desire, what
cōmoditie had sprung therof, what welth
would haue risen to bothe the parties,

what

what euerlasting frẽndship wold haue bẽne knit for euer, what happines had blessed euen ẏ moste miserable, th'experience of few daies, would plainly haue declared, & proof of wise heds would shortly haue concluded. But all this, this all is dashed and the great towardnes clene taken away, not by their meanes, who saw what they should doo & knew what they feared: but by your deuilish enterprises, the horrible voices whereof did much more withdraw men from agrẽement: then your obedience & duty would haue enticed to frẽndship. Wherfore ye haue doon more hurt, then ye can make amends, seeing your dutie cannot recouer that your misorder hath broken, & haue lost others quietnes with your owne sturres, and haue marred common matters with priuate factiõs, and so by lack of wisdome and greatnes of mischeef: haue brought in losse of hap and prolonging of trouble. What say ye to ẏ French who promising peace and continuaunce of his Leage, dooth contrary to promise make much of occasions, and seeing our wekenes thinketh it is time not looking

how

how true a gentlemans faith should he: but seeking honor of victory, against ho: nor of fidelitie? And if we had bean strõg this yeer with quietnes, not brokẽ with discention: euen the stoutest men would haue bean lothest of trouble, not so hastie to giue the onset, where they had knowen all to haue bean fenced, and nothing to be wanting. But what honor is gotten to fight with a sick mãs or what manly praise is it to beate down the lame cheefely to the valiant who intend by force without sutteltie, and by manhood without treasõ, to get honor in feeld and the fame of victory? Sedition is the sickenes of a common welth, which is feeble and fainted with breach of dissention, not able to weld her welth by breaking of her limmes and eselyest taken when it is miserablliest sick. But what so euer occasion he taketh for aduantage, loke who it is at home that giueth it, and the more losse cõmeth by the war: the more think your fault to be greeuous of it self, and odious to other. Ye cannot doo suche a foule treason at home: but outward nations shall ring of it, and by wisdome

iudge

iudge vs in discention fée ble: whome in agréement they haue felt strong, & therby séek where the time of the doing serueth, although the time of the doer serue nothing at all. By this meanes ye sée the leages of peace broken, open warre proclaimed, the kings coũtryes inuaded, what ẏ end wil be you must néedꝫ iudge, if ye think on the time at home, how ye do not only trouble it: but also almoste wholely betray it. If ye would with wickednes haue forsaken your faith to your naturall Countrie, and haue sought craftie meanes to haue vtterly betrayed it to our common enemyes, could ye haue had any other spéedier way then this is, bothe to make our strength weake, and their weakenes strong?

If ye would haue sought to haue spighted your coũtrie and to haue pleased your enemy, and followe their councel for our hinderaunce, could ye haue had deuised of them any thing more shameful for vs and ioyful to them? If they which lye like spyals, and harken after likelyhoodꝫ of things to cõe, because they declare opportunitie of times to ẏ enemies are tobe

iudged common enemies of the country: what shall we reſonably thinck of you, who dw not ſecretly bewray ẏ councels of other: but openly betray the common welth with your owne deeds, and haue as much as lyeth in you sought the ouerthrowe of it at home, which if ye had obtained at Gods hand (as he neuer alloweth so horrible an enterprise) how culd ye haue defended it from the ouerthrowe of other abrode? For is your vnderſtanding of things so small, that although ye ſée your ſelues not vnfit to get the vpper hand of a few gentlemen, that ye be able to beat down aboue ye the kings power? yea and by chaunce ye were able to dw that, would ye iudge your ſelues by ſtrength mightie inough to reſiſt the power of outwarde nations that for praiſe ſake would inuade ye? May think truely with your ſelues, that if ye dw ouercome, ye be vnſure both be by ſtrength abrode, and diſpleaſure of honeſt men at home, and by the puniſhment of the God aboue, and now ye haue not yet gotten indéd that your vain hope loketh for by fanſie, think how certainly ye haue wõ

ded

ded the cõmon welth with a sore stroke, in procuring our enemyes by our wekenesse to séek victory, and by our outward misery to séek outwarde glory, with inwarde dishonor, which howsoeuer they get: think it to be long of you, who haue offered them victory: afore they began war, because ye would declare to men héerafter belike, how dangerous it is to make sturres at home, when they dw not only make our selues weke: but also our enemyes strong.

Beside these there is another sorte of men, desirous of aduantage, and disdainful of our welth, whose gréek is moste our greatest hap, and be offended with Religion, because they be drowned in superstition, men zealed toward God but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, thē they iudge by their meaning, worthyer whose ignorance should be taken away, then their wil should be folowed, whome we should more rebuke for their stubburnesse: then despise for their ignorance. These seeing superstition beaten down and Religion set vp, Gods word taking place, traditiõs kept

in their kinde, difference made betweẽ Gods commaundements and mans learning, the trueth of things sought out according to Christes institutiõ, examples taken of the primatiue churches vse, not at the Bishop of Romes ordinance, and true worship taught, and will worship refused: dow by blindenes rebuke that as by trueth they should followe, and by affection followe that as by knowledge they should abhorre, thincking vsage to be trueth, and Scripture tobe error, not waying by the word, but misconstruing by custome. And now things be chaunged to the better, and Religion truelyer appointed, they see matters go awry, which hurteth the whole Realme, and they reioyce in this mischefe as a thing worthely happened, mistaking the cause and slandering Religiõ: as though there were no cause why God might haue punished, if their vsed profession might still haue taken place. They see not that where Gods glory is truliest set forth, there the deuil is most busie for his part, and laboureth to corrupt by lewdnesse, that as is gotten out by the trueth, think

ing

ting that if it were not blemished at the first: the residue of his falsehood should after lesse prevaile. So he troubleth by waies that he cánot plainly withstand, and vseth suttletie of Sophistrie, where plain reason faileth, and perswadeth simple men that to be a cause, which indéed cannot be tryed and taken for a cause.

So he causeth Religion which teacheth obedience: to be iudged the cause of sedition, and the doctrin of loue: the séed of discention, mistaking the thing, but perswading mens mindes, and abusing the plain meaning of the honest, to a wicked end of Religions ouerthrowe. The husband man had not so soon throwen séed in his ground, but steppeth vp the enemy, and he soweth Cockle to, and maketh men dout whether the good husband had don wel or no, and whether he had sowen there good séed or bad.

The fantasticall Iewes in Egipt would not beléeue Ieremie, but thought their plague and their misery to come by his meanes, and leauing of Idolatrie: to be the cause of penury, wherfore by wilful aduice they intended to forsake the pro-

phets

phets councel, and thought to serue God moste truely by their rooted and accustomed Idolatrie.

When the Christian men were persecuted in the Primatiue Church, and dayly suffered Martirdome for Christes profession, suche faire season of wether was for thrée or foure yéer together: that the Heathen iudged thervpon, God to be delighted with their cruelitie, & so were perswaded that with ỹ blood of the Martirs they pleased God highly. Such fansies lighted now in Papists, and irreligious mens heds, and ioyne things by chaunce hapening together and conclydeth the one to be the cause of the other, and then delighteth in true worshippers hurt, because they iudge curssedly ỹ good to be bad, and therfore reioyseth in the punishment of the godly.

For they béeing fleshly, iudge by outwarde things and perceiue not the inwarde: for that they lack the spirit, and so iudge amisse, not vnderstanding God, what diuersitie he suffereth to blinde still the wilful, and how throwe all dãgers, he saueth his forechosen. Thus haue ys

giuen a large occasion to stubborne Papists, bothe to iudge amisse and also to reioyce in this wicked chaunce, contented with our mischeef, not lyking our Religion, and thinking God doth punish for this better chaunge and haue therby an il oppinion of Gods holy trueth, confirmed in them by no sure Scripture, but by following of mischaunce, which they ought to thinck to come, for the pryde and stubburnesse of the people, who doth not accept Gods glory in good part, nor yet giue due praise to their Lord and maker.

What should I say more? We hurt euery way, the dangers be so great, and the perilles so many whiche do dayly folowe your deuilish enterprise, that the more I séeke in the matter: the more I continually see to say. And what wordes can worthyly declare this miserable beastlynes of yours, which haue intended to deuide the Realme, and arme the one parte for the killing of the other?

For euen as concorde is not only the helth but also the strength of the realme: so is Sedition not only the weakenesse but

but also the Apostume of the Realme, which when it breaketh inwardly, putteth the state in great daunger of recouery, and corrupteth the whole common welth with the rotten fury, that he hath long putrified with. For it is not in sedition as in other faultes, whiche béeing mischéeuous of themselues, haue some notable hurt alwayes fast adioyned to them, but in this one is there a whole Hel of faults not seuerally scattered, but clustered on a lump togither, and comming on so thick, that it is vnpossible for a Region armed with all kinde of wisedome and strength therto, to auoide the dangers that issueth out therof.

When Sedition once breaketh out, sée ye not the lawes ouerthrowen, the Magistrates despised, spoyling of houses, murdering of menne, wasting of Countries, encreasle of disorder, diminishing of the Realmes strength, swarming of Vagabounds, scarcitie of labourers and those mischéefs all plentevously brought in, which God is wont to scourge seuerely with al war, dearth and pestilence.

And

And seeing ye haue theft and murder, plague and famine, confusion and idleness linked togither, can ye look for any more mischeefe in one shamefull enterprise then ye euidently see to grow heerin? As for war, although it be miserable, yet the one parte getteth somewhat, and reioiseth in the spoil, and so goeth lustyer away, and either increaseth his countrie with riches: or inhauneeth him self with glory, but in sedition bothe the partes looseth, the ouercommed cannot flye, the ouercommer cannot spoile, the more the winner winneth: the more he looseth, the more that escape: the more infamouse men liue, all that is gained, is scarcely saued, the winning is losse, the losse is destruction, bothe waste them selues, & the whole most wasted, ẏ strengthning of them selues, ẏ decay of the countrie, the striuing for the victory: is a pray to the enemye, and shortly to say, the hellish turmoil of sedition, so far passeth the common misery of war: as to sley him self is more haynous, then to be slain of another

O noble peace, what welth bringest thou in? how doth all things florish in field and in town? what forwardnes of Religion? what increase of learnings what grauitie in Counsel? what deuise of wit? what order of manners? what obedience of lawes? what reuerence of states? what sauegarde of houses? what quietnes of life? what honor of countries? what friendship of mindes? what honestie of pleasure hast thou alwaies maintained, whose happynesse we knew not, while now we feele the lack, and shall learne by miserie to understand plentie, and so to auoide mischief by the hart that it bringeth, and learne to serue better, where Rebellion is once knowen, and so to liue truely & keep the kings peace?

What good state were ye in afore ye began, not priched with pouerti, but stirred with mischief, to seek your destruction, hauing waies to redresse al that was amisse, Magistrates moste redye to tender all iustice, and pitifull in hearing the poore mens causes whiche sought to amend matters more then you can deuise

and

and were ready to redresse them better then ye could imagine: and yet for a hedynes ye could not be contented, but in despite of God, who commaundeth obedience, & in contempt of the king (whose lawes seeketh your welth) and to duerthrowe the Countrie, whiche naturally we should louerye would proudely rise, and do ye wot not what, and amends things by Rebellion to your utter undoing.

What state leaue ye vs in now, besieged with enemyes, deuided at home, made pore with spoile and losse of our Harnest, vnordered and cast down with slaughter and hatred, hindered from amendments by our owne deuilish haste, endaungered with sicknesses, by reason of misorder laid open to mens pleasures for breaking of the lawes, and feebled to such faintnesse, that scarcely it wil be recouered? Wherfore for Gods sake, haue pitie on your selues, consider how miserably ye haue spoiled, destroyed and wasted vs all, and if for disperatenesse ye care not for your selues: yet remember

your

your wiues, your Children, your Countrye, and forsake this Rebellion, with humble submission, acknowledge your faultes, and tarry not the extremitie of the Kings sword, leaue of with repentaunce and turne to your dutyes, aske God forgiuenes, submit ye to your king, be contented for a common welth one or two to dye, and ye Capitaines for the risidue sacrifice your selues, ye shall so best attain the kings gratious Pardon, saue the assembly and helpe the common welth, and declare your doings to proceede of no stubbuennesse, but all this mischeefe to growe out of ignorance, which seeing the misery would redresse the fault, and so recouer best the blot of your disorder, and stay the great miseryes which be like to followe.

Thus if ye do not: thinck truely with your selues, that God is angry with you for your Rebellion, the Kings Sword drawen to defend his Countrye, the cry of the poore to God against ye, the redynesse of the honest in Armoure to vanquish ye, your death to be at hand, whi-

che ye cannot escape, hauing GOD a-
gainst ye, as he promiseth in word, the
Kings power to ouerthrowe ye, gathe-
red in the feelde, the common weith
to beat ye down with stripes
and with curses, the shame
of your mischéefe to
blemish ye for
euer.

God saue the Queene.

¶ IMPRINTED
at London by William Seres
dwelling at the West end of
Paules church at the signe
of the Hedgehog.

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Cum priuilegio ad impri-
mendum solum.